

# Build up People's Movement On Correct Base Political Line

## Clarion Call of Com. Shibdas Ghosh at Fourteenth State Conference of KKMf

Subodh nagar, Berhampore (West Bengal)

The Paschim Banga Krishak O Khetmazoor Federation (K. K. M. F.) concluded its fourteenth conference with tremendous success. The open session, held on 15th March, was followed by two days delegate session on 16th and 17th.

On the 15th of March, thousands and thousands of landless labourers, poor peasants, middle peasants and working people of other strata of life from every nook and corner of Murshidabad district assembled at the clarion call of the KKMf, the fighting organisation of the landless labourers and poor peasants. Delegates from all over the state rallied in huge numbers to make the conference an all-out success.

From early morning Speaker. Sree Naba mammoth processions krushna Chowdhury, a carrying red banners, vetaran, revered leader following one after another in search of the real assembled at the meeting place. In fact, when the meeting started, it was a vast sea of humanity all around. The local people of this historically famous district town, even the old and the aged, could hardly recollect if they had witnessed in the past any such colossal gathering of the fighting people who came to hear our beloved leader and teacher. From the very beginning and till the end, they attended the meeting in pin-drop silence, in a disciplined manner, with an expression of fighting firmness and determination in their faces.

The red rostrum with fourteen red flags bearing hammer, sickle and star, appearing like a rising sun befitted the occasion.

Comrade Protiva Mukherjee, the Vice President, KKMf, presided. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the greatest Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, our beloved leader and teacher, the General Secretary of our party graced the occasion as the Main

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI, while conveying revolutionary greetings to the fighting peasants and workers has urged upon them to realise the gravity of the moment when the KKMf is holding its conference. It is a time when the people are not only facing severe economic exploitation and oppression but the country as a whole is being led in the direction of fascism by the ruling party i.e. Congress(R). And while

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24th April

SUCI Day

## MASSIVE RALLY

CALCUTTA SAHEED MINER MAIDAN

AT 5 pm

Main Speaker Com. SHIBDAS GHOSH

# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 8  
No. 14

26th MARCH '75  
WEDNESDAY

PRICE 30 P.  
Air Surcharge 4 P.

## Com. Nihar Mukherjee's Statement

Calcutta 11th March

Shri Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of SUCI has issued the following statement on the reported news published in the dailies on the affairs of the Nine Left Parties Combination.

"In the meeting of the nine left parties every body supported although verbally and even admitted that all the political parties have the inalienable right to discuss and criticise the political line and mode of activities of other friendly parties as also to explain and elucidate their own line, analysis and approach while engaged in a united struggle. This is more so when there appears any difference of opinion on any issue or subject matter or when they are unable to move together.

"But it is observed that whenever SUCI makes any political criticism or puts forward critical analysis during the course of united movement, the CPI(M) raises a hue and cry that such criticisms are unfriendly, anti-unity and slanderous. But the canards, concocted stories, vituperations and the vulgar remarks which are profusely indulged in the organs and journals of CPI(M), whenever it refers to SUCI—are probably quite friendly and political criticism.

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## ONLY A GENUINE WORKING CLASS PARTY CAN ACCOMPLISH THE TASK OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Delhi, 4th March—

The Delhi State Organising Committee of SUCI organised a School of Politics in Delhi from 1st to 3rd March 75. It was attended by party members, close supporters coming from different walks of life including workers, employees, students, teachers and professors from schools & colleges, numbering about 150.

Com. Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker the leader, teacher and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUCI while conducting the school made brilliant and scientific discourses. Com. Ghosh while explaining dialectical and historical materialism forcefully expounded how in the light of latest advancement of natural science, Marxism has attained the status of a full-fledged science. Com. Ghosh depicted it to be science of all sciences. In explaining so he discussed the course of development of science from Copernicus to Einstein's Theory of Relativity and in relation to that, he showed that the truth is one and it is relative and concrete. Thus he said, to arrive at truth one has to accept Marxism as the process of thinking and methodological approach. He also beautifully explained how revolu-

tion in a country cannot be just copied from other countries since no two concrete matters are identical. Marxism in our country, as in every other country, has to be concretised, elaborated and developed in the concrete given condition of the soil. In the light of Marxism Com. Ghosh elaborated the socio-economic and political stage of development in India today and the character of the Indian state as the capitalist state.

Com. Ghosh in course of his brilliant analysis of the phase of revolution unmasked the pseudo-revolutionary concepts and theories of other so-called left parties with Marxist vocabulary. He said that it is politics that supercedes economy. He also said that in India it is the phase of socialist revolution, the task of which a genuine working class party having correct base political line, only can accomplish. He said that no ideology however lofty it may be can remain so if the battles to be waged are not coupled with a cultural movement conducive to uplifting the cultural, ethical and moral standard of the people. That is why cultural revolution is of monumental importance.

Com. Ghosh said that the SUCI has proved in

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## CENTRAL BUDGET

# Full of Sound and Fury Signifying one Thing—Exploitation of Common people

To the common people who are groaning under crushing burden of capitalist exploitation in the form of mounting tax burden, ever-spiralling prices of essential commodities, depressed wages, soaring unemployment and under-employment—which, all combined reduce them to a state of appalling poverty, starvation and under-nourishment, has come yet another blow in this year's Central budget. In a single sweep, this year's budget imposes a massive dose of commodity taxation to the tune of Rs 285 crores, a record that could not be set up by the alien imperialist rulers. This, together with the increase in railway freight which falls on food grains including pulses and basic industrial components to the tune of Rupees 39 crores, makes the total simply staggering. Coupled with this massive dose of indirect taxation, there has been a jugglery of figures to show the actual deficit of Rs 794 crores on the low side of Rupees 464 crores. These are enough to generate further spurt in the rate of increase in prices spelling disaster to common people. Yet, being the pre-election budget the wily Finance Minister, true to fascist device, has tried in vain to cover up the crimes by some stunts and gimmick. Only a massive, powerful movement on the anti-capitalist correct base political line can give a powerful rebuff to the anti-working people offensives of the fascist Government.

## The Budget in a nutshell

In the backdrop of massive, all-time record tax collections of Rs. 1048 crores by means of two budgets and two railway budgets within a full year that fetched Rs. 1475 crores only in last year, the ruling party Government comes with a fresh burden of taxes of Rs 285 crores which the common people will have to pay as in the usual manner, the capitalists will only reap the benefits of super profit on the plea of increase in excise and customs duties and railway freight.

Yet even after such massive dose of additional taxes, the budgetary gap is quite yawning. The Finance Minister has window-dressed it to be of Rs. 464 crores while it is actually Rs. 794 crores. The Finance Minister's jugglery takes account of assumed oil credit from Iran, Iraq and Abu Dhabi of Rs 230 crores and another Rs 100 crores as the recycling of allegedly frozen funds. The plea that almost the same amount of Rs 330 crores is in the shape of stock of imported food grains, fertilisers etc. which can be realised on sale does not hold good, because, from all

estimates, the same quantum, if not more, of food is to be imported in this financial year too. So, the deficit is deliberately shown less wherein lies another inflationary fuse. The reasons for last year's budgeted deficit of Rs 126 crores becoming in reality, of Rs 625 crores are said to lie in the increase of subsidy for food and fertiliser imports, DA to government employees, additional assistance to states for drought and flood etc. But with the ostensible purpose of meeting this increase in expenditure and containing deficit, the Government brought supplementary budgets to raise massive additional taxes which in actuality more than compensated additional expenses listed. So, the real reason for the increasing deficit gap lies elsewhere. It lies in staggering increase in non-developmental defence and other wasteful expenditures of administration and the so-called prestigious project like nuclear experiments.

This year, too, with a sinister motive, the Central Government has made no provisions for further DA

payment to the employees as per the recommendation of the third Pay Commission. Already the Government faces the obligation to pay two DA instalments to the employees which have fallen due but it makes it a matter of negotiation. The same tactics has been adopted in the railway budget to deliberately cover up the actual deficit.

The Central Government's evil design is obvious. It wants to shift the onus for maintaining surplus or containing deficit gap in the budgets on to the shoulder of the poor, salaried employees who have been subjected to ruthless capitalist exploitation.

## Pattern of Revenue Collection—the ugly face of Congress brand of Socialism!

While it should be the objectives even for capitalist Governments in framing the budget to bring in some amount of semblance of equity in the severe distortions caused in the distribution of incomes and wealth, as an inevitable outcome of capitalism, in order to revive a sagging economy or at best to restrain inflation, the shameless ruling party has for it a despicable history of 27 years of rule which instead of minimising the inequality has further widened it by the budgetary devices and fiscal policies. It shows the out and out reactionary character of the party in power for which reason, it has earned the distinction of being the hated arch enemy of the working people. A cursory glance at the bare facts will simply be revealing.

Tax revenue is now, 80% of the total revenue receipts of the Indian Government. It has risen at a compound rate of 11.58% per annum between 1950-51 to 74-75 of which indirect taxes has been at the rate of 13.32% while the rate of direct tax has been only 7.63%. The p.c.

of indirect taxes to total tax revenue was 56% in 1950-51 but it is now more than 82% in 1975-76, whereas the p.c. of direct taxes has steadily gone down from 44% in 1950-51 to about 18% in 1975-76.

The main instrument of revenue collection by indirect means has been the Central excise. It now embraces some 135 items. As if this is not enough, the new Finance Minister has brought a new innovation which is IPC excise on all unspecified articles. The Central excise fetched only Rupees 68 crores in 1950 but it now brings Rupees 3,383 crores inclusive of this year's fresh taxes and of this amount 90% will come from cess on commodities.

This year, over and above the increase in excise duty (Rupees 25 crores) IPC omnibus excise and increase in customs duty (Rupees 34 crores) there is also an increase in Central sales tax that is expected to bring Rupees 2 crores.

These fresh impost of excise would be on cloth, bidi, tea, sugar, cigarettes, petrol, cement, etc. To the poor wretched Indian worker, now a cup of tea and a bidi are also becoming a thing of luxury. Bravo! What more is wanted to bring socialism in the land?

## Pattern of Expenditure Whom the Government Serves?

Defence of the bourgeois rule is the prime task of the servitor Government. So, defence takes the biggest slice of the cake gathered out of the sweat and blood of the poor people. This year's budget provides Rs 117 crores more to make the total on defence expenditure Rs. 2,274 crores.

But, the expenditures on social welfare programmes, like education, medical and public health, worker's benefits etc. have been on the steady decline. Mention of certain figures,

provided by RBI's annual report on currency of finance for 1973-74 would be relevant here. It shows, while during the third plan period of 1961-66, the average annual expenditure on Education, Art, Culture, Scientific Research was Rs 118 crores and in the total figures constituted only 6.9% of planned outlay, it came down to an annual average of Rs 108 crores and to 4.8% of the planned outlay between 1966-69. In 1969-70 it was only Rs 87 crores, the figure for 71 was Rs 115 crores. But take defence plus police, the picture is completely different. It was Rs. 794 crores out of total budgeted expenditure of Rs. 2,025 crores in 1965-66 but in the budget estimates of 74-75 it rose to Rs. 1,736 crores. This is the ugly face of a fascist state. To brand it as progressive on any plea can have only one meaning and that is to come in defence of this gigantic brutal power of the bourgeoisie against the working class.

## Plan outlay up—but for whom?

The Finance Minister of the ruling party has provided Rs 1,100 crores in the budget for plan outlay with emphasis on agriculture and energy. The amount comes to only about Rs. 857 crores in terms of 1965-66 price level and is slightly higher than last year's Rs. 814 crores. This is the minimum the Government could do to keep the wheel of production at least moving. But while the emphasis is on increase in agricultural production, the Government's determined efforts to curb consumption by pegging down wage-rates and salaries tells different motives.

The Government is faced with problem of widening trade deficits. While export earnings increased by 36% to Rs. 2,027 crores, the

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# FOOD POLICY—NOTHING BUT PRE-ELECTION STUNT

In the recent Chief Ministers' Conference, a ban had been imposed on inter-state movement of grains except on Government account and that the Government would not allow wholesale trading in food grains by private traders, declared Sri Jagjivan Ram, the Central Food Minister. Since the much-trumpeted policy of take-over of wholesale trading in food grains was adopted in 1972 at its Ahmedabad Session, the ruling party introduced it for a brief period, that too only on wheat, which was however withdrawn in the last year's Chief Ministers' Conference. Now when the election is approaching in the background of people's mounting resentments against the ruling party due to capitalist exploitation at an unprecedented scale and dimension, it requires some gimmicks and sops to delude the masses. Besides, the social democratic opposition parties like CPI and CPI (M) have been raising a hue and cry for takeover of wholesale trade in food grains and so to take the wind out of the sails, the party in power has readopted the present food policy which in the opinion of our party is nothing but a gimmick that has nothing to do with bringing even a mild dose of relief to the starving and half-starved millions of our country. The persistent demand of our party since 1956 has been the introduction of monopoly state trading in food grains up to the stage of retail sale of food grains and a well co-ordinated efficient public distribution system that alone can bring about some relief to the people, which the bourgeois party in power has miserably failed during its long 27 years of rule for its sectarian political interest in pampering the jotedars and dishonest traders at the cost of untold sufferings of the people.

In the Chief Ministers' Conference, this time, the report of the APC (Agricultural Price Commission) was, as usual, considered. To maximise procurement and reach the target of 5.5 million tonnes recommended by the APC, four different methods have been decided to be resorted to, which, the Government claims, will rule out private trading in food grains. The four methods are state trading, levy on farmers, levy on traders and monopoly trading by state agencies.

On the face of it the present policy may sound to be a full-proof one and to the so-called progressives (!) both inside and outside the party in power the usual vein of talkings would be that the policy was good only that it required implementation by the Government machinery and public co-operation! The constant rehearsing on this line will be helpful for the ruling party particularly when the rich peasants have already raised a hue and cry as if heaven had fallen on their heads by this policy, as can be seen in U. P. and

Punjab where the capitalist farmers lobby is very powerful.

In U.P. the rich farmers have demanded of the Government a further increase in the procurement, price of wheat which is now Rs 105 per quintal and according to APC this is sufficient to give a good margin of profit to the farmers. The prevailing market price of wheat in U.P. has been in the range of Rs 175 to Rs 215, and the rich farmers have threatened to withdraw the supply of wheat from the markets by large-scale hoarding. In U.P. the ruling party and its Government which set the target of procurement at 7 lakh tonnes as against 3.55 lakh tonnes, last year have by now achieved only 50 p.c. of its target. The U.P. Government officials hold that there was "no tooth available to it" in the form of a police force, which could force big farmers in eastern U.P. to disgorge their hoarded stocks. So, the target is going to be only on paper despite a good kharif crop last year—is the opinion of the state bureaucracy. Now it is also a fact that

the B.L.D. of Chaudhury Charan Singh and Jan Sangh, the main opposition parties in U.P. are also the bulwark of the political power of the rich farmers in the State. The so-called opposition parties, are the spokesmen of the rich farmers and the poor people of the State should judge these parties not by what they say in public meetings in mock sympathy of their woes to catch their votes in elections but by the political stand of these parties in support of the rich farmers and to starve them to death.

In Punjab, both the ruling party and the Akalis are vociferously opposing the Government's wheat price policy. Sri Gurudarshan Singh, Punjab's Food and Supply Minister, told reporters that there should be structural changes in the Agricultural Price Commission in order to ensure the "Continuance of such policies as were in the national interest" on a long range basis. The Commission should therefore comprise of agricultural expert.

The ruling party's State Minister was therefore openly opposing the Central Government food policy to defend his own party's political position in the State politics where support both political and moneybags of the rich farmers is the main stay for the ruling party. He was, expressing his ire at the APC particularly for its two observations, firstly the APC was explicit that the levy on traders based on the assurance of the food grains dealers on which, the Government relied so much before withdrawal of the whole-sale trading in wheat last year and which was decided to be the main source of procurement had flopped. So, the APC was in favour of Governments developing own procurement machinery. Secondly, the APC was quite fourth right in telling the truth that the present procurement price of wheat was quite remunerative and

required no further revision in the upward direction which was done several times in last few years to make it from Rs 72 to Rs 105 per quintal. The State's Minister was also demanding the inclusion of rich farmers' men in the APC so that their interest could be protected and defended in a still better manner! The Minister even did not fail to drop the hint which was articulated openly by the U.P. big farmers' lobby that unless the price of wheat was further increased up, as observed by them they would divert their land from wheat to other crops which had a better margin of profit.

But this is another way of suppressing a fact. The fact remains' even after being assured of a bumper profit in wheat by the Government's price and trade policy, the big farmers in Punjab have already diverted one lakh, fifty thousand acres of land to barley and gram in shrewd calculation of scarcity condition in world commodity market. Such diversion of fields for cereal production to cash commercial crops has been going on in our country at an accelerated pace according to the very law of capitalist development in agriculture. Indian agriculture has long been linked up with world commodity market and the scarcity condition there has its impact on the production orientation of agricultural commodities here. Only those who have eyes to see and the modicum of grey matter to judge can never miss this reality. But then to see the truth is to miss the right to go on repeating the myth of feudal existence in agriculture which is the other way of shielding the rich peasants with whom parties like CPI and CPI(M) want strategic alliance in their fake revolutions!

Now, why we were telling that even a full proof wholesale state trading can be of no use as regards bringing some amount of relief to poor

and middle class people who remain in the starved and semi starved condition in absence of an efficient public distribution machinery and one to unbridled profiteering and black marketing in food grains by the unscrupulous trading community aided and abetted directly by the ruling party and its government?

Let us recapitulate here what our party has been persistently telling the people, the government and other opposition parties since 1956.

We are not at one with those parties which hold that wholesale state trading in food grains can solve the chronic food problem in our country. Because, the character and form that the distribution system in our country has by now assumed these are not such as will allow wholesale state trading to be used as a stepping stone to all out state trading in one course. The social system, the psychology of the business community and the condition under which wholesale trading can be profitably utilised to introduce all out state trading step by step are at present conspicuous by their absence in our country.

Then again, a section of the people, deprived of any and every means of honest labour, destitute and starving, have fallen a prey to and become a part of the net laid by unscrupulous business men throughout the country to carry on blackmarketing, profiteering, smuggling, adulteration and such other anti-social activities. In such a situation, the taking over by the state of whole sale trade in food grains alone is bound to fail. Because in that case, retail trades not being banned, the wholesale traders in connivance with the corrupt police and administrative machinery will succeed in carrying on their corrupt anti-social business with the help of thousands of

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# The question of unity is to be determined on the necessity of

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we are observing some mighty popular massive struggle, although spontaneous in nature, in many states of the country, in West Bengal, a state with glorious tradition of left and democratic movements the leftists have not yet succeeded to develop any such struggle. The people should seriously ponder over it.

and progress, that the Western countries, in spite of being capitalist in nature could reach. He is in full agreement with Comrade Ghosh that this is because of the fact that India achieved her independence in half-baked and truncated way.

In unequivocal terms he has expressed that SUCI led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is successfully

charge the responsibility as the situation demands of us.

After Sree Chowdhury concluded his speech, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher started his thought-provoking, eloquent address amidst loud cheers.

## Com. Shibdas Ghosh

In his eloquent and highly enlightening address that continued for one and half hour Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our leader and teacher and the General Secretary of our party has analysed the different pressing issues relating to the united struggle of the fighting working people of our country and present tasks confronting us for bringing about socialist revolution through the overthrow of capitalism.

While discussing on movement, Com. Ghosh has stressed the need of developing it in the correct path under the leadership of the real revolutionary party having the correct base political line.

He observed that it was not at all a fact that our people did not participate in the struggle. It will be totally wrong to observe that the Indian people cannot sacrifice, do not participate in the movement. On the contrary, not only in the pre-independence period but also following the transfer of power in the country, in the post-independence period as well thousands and thousands of our people whole heartedly participated in the united struggle, sacrificed every

thing they possess including even their lives. Most often, the reactionary ruling capitalist class, their state power and the Government had to resort to all sorts of naked fascistic means of oppression and even had to call for the army for crushing the people's struggle. But what were the results? It was no doubt a fact that the struggles met with defeat. But that should not appear as depressing to him who knows that it is through defeats and defeats alone, that the ultimate victory can be achieved. For each successive defeats should make the leaders of the struggle conscious of its failures, limitations and inadequacies and thereby help to develop the next struggle in a better way in all aspects. In this way the reactionaries dig their own graves. But what was crucial and alarming was the fact that though our people engaged themselves whole heartedly in the struggle and sacrificed everything including their lives, each struggle at the end left the reactionaries more strong, the capitalism more consolidated and the people more and more frustrated, disarrayed, their united struggle divided and disintegrated. In fact it was an emasculated leadership of the big left parties claiming themselves as communists that were responsible for this calamitous end of our struggle. Those parties can not provide the correct leadership. So it is neither the programme nor the slogan from the dearth of which the people are

suffering at the moment. Those parties have enough of them. What our people and their struggle need is the correct ideological line, the correct political line at a particular concrete and objective situation of the country. Struggle will again appear. Lakhs of people will again assemble in the maidan as they have already started assembling at JP's call in Bihar and other parts of the country. But if these struggles are not organised on the basis of the correct political line, they will meet with the same disastrous fate.

Incidentally Comrade Ghosh has referred to the recent controversy between the SUCI and the CPI(M) about the inalienable right of a political party to politically criticise the viewpoints of the other political parties, expose their real character and thereby conduct ideological struggle with a view to making the common people conscious about who is right and who is wrong. For, it is only through the participation of the ideological struggle that one can find out what is correct politics and what is the correct base political line for leading our struggles. The different political parties profess different theories of revolution with different strategies and tactics. It is, therefore, obvious that when they build up any united struggle even on common issues, if they do not really mean economism, they should try to pattern the struggle in accordance



Sri Nabakrushna Chowdhury addressing the open session

## Sri Nabakrushna Chowdhury

Sree Nabakrushna Chowdhury in his short but illuminating speech has observed that it is a tragedy that in the last quarter of the twentieth century when the people in different parts of Asia and Africa have awakened and freed themselves from bondage, when new forces are emerging in different parts of the world, the people of our country has not yet succeeded to free themselves from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression. It is a fact that India has failed to attend the level of development

endeavouring to find out the correct path for the emancipation of our people by objectively and scientifically analysing the concrete conditions of our country.

He firmly believes that Comrade Ghosh is indicating the correct path for our people's emancipation. He has fervently appealed to the people to free themselves from the influence of the so called big left parties claiming themselves as Marxists-Leninists who were causing a great harm to the country and accept the correct path for achieving their emancipation. It is the proper time when we must dis-



## developing mass movement—and not on petty parliamentary interest

with their own concept of revolution and there differences in the strategy, tactics and the understanding of co-relation of forces etc are bound to be reflected in the day to day struggle. This obviously will lead to ideological struggle. Those who oppose it, on any plea what so ever really desire to keep the ideological struggle closed out of motive.

This controversy has arisen centring round the question of holding joint convention under the auspices of Mr. P. C. Sen, one of the most discredited ex-Chief Ministers of West Bengal, and Naba Nirman Samity on the one hand and the left parties including the CPI (M) on the other.

Com. Ghosh has observed that the CPI (M) and their leaders are consistently pursuing a hate campaign against us. They very often indulge in canards, concocted stories, filthy comments and vulgar remarks whenever they refer to the SUCI. And this is 'political criticism' but not slander according to them! But when we politically criticise their strategy and tactical line that at once becomes a 'slander' to them—they raise hue and cry that SUCI is conducting a 'slandorous campaign' against them.

Com. Ghosh in a high, firm and emotional tone has urged upon the people to go through the observations, comments and writings of our party and compare them with those of the CPI(M) and themselves judge which

one is really slander. If the CPI(M) thinks that our observations, are wrong, then they may politically criticise our view point. But they should neither slander us, nor try to throttle our voice on any filthy plea whatsoever.

Com. Ghosh has remarked that the CPI(M) is alleging that we have joined hands with Morarji. We have aligned ourselves in Bihar with JP because, taking advantage of the weakness of the leftists in Bihar—the movement which the rightists have built up there under the leadership of JP, the common people have spontaneously gathered around that movement in view of the fact that the demands are all legitimate and justified. We can never allow to leave those people as pawns in the hands of the rightists. So we have joined in Bihar struggle. Now, in support of this Bihar movement an All India Co-ordination Committee has been formed in which Morarji is a member from Gujrat, and we are also a member. We are of strong opinion that it is in the interest of mass movement alone that we can join hands with the rightists with a view to pushing that movement towards a progressive end by ultimately isolating the rightist leadership from the movement. But we can never join with the rightists for election interests. The CPI(M) is not with JP in Bihar movement on the plea of 'rightist participation'. Because, if they join in this

movement, it will infuriate the revisionist leadership of CPSU and other Communist Parties of Eastern Europe with whom they are in good term at present; Indira too will take serious exception to it. This is why they cannot do it. This is one side of the picture. The other side is that the election is approaching nearer. So keeping contact with JP is also a must to CPI (M). Thus in order to satisfy both these sides they have adopted a very peculiar tactics. What is that tactics? By the joining in Bihar movement they are trying to woo both the revisionist Soviet leadership and Sm. Indira Gandhi on the one hand, satisfying JP at the some time that they are with the movement—not from within but from outside. Only a cunning leadership of CPI (M)'s brand can find out such a tactics!

Now while elaborating the necessity of associating with the rightists in the movements at times, Com. Ghosh has further remarked that none should make this a plea for rehabilitating a rightist force, which has long ago been discredited and rejected by the people—be it on the question of civil liberty or anything else. In West Bengal on the question of initiating a joint move for organising any convention or meeting with P. C. Sen, Naba Nirman Samiti on the issue of civil liberty we have raised two points. We have told them that in spite of our, i.e. the leftists' many short-

comings and failures in West Bengal the people are anxiously looking to the nine party combination who are in a position to organise the movement, and not to P.C. Sen and others for developing any movement. It is one thing to agree to a proposal of rightist forces joining a movement already launched by the left parties but it is altogether a different thing to sponsor a convention and that too for one day only with them. In the left oriented state of West Bengal, the mental make up of the common people is such that jointly sponsoring a convention with rightist forces is sure to confuse public opinion and create serious misgivings in the people's mind. We have raised another vital point. We have observed that if the nine party combination is to organise any convention or meeting on the civil liberty then while urging for the protection of civil liberty from the onslaught of the ruling party, all of them including us must make a public pledge to the effect that, all of us should adhere to certain democratic norms and principles in our day to day struggles

Because it is our experience that many of us violated the said basic rights in the past by forcefully obstructing others engaged in campaigning, selling their party literatures, posterings or walling etc. in areas said to be the organised pockets or strongholds of the

formers. People can not keep faith on us, not to speak of being inspired by us, if they find that the very sponsors of the civil liberty convention do not hesitate at times to encroach upon the fundamental rights of a political party to propagate its stands and view points. But this they could not agree. More over these parties have raised another charge against us that our criticism has been unfriendly and we have been alleged by them to have bracketted the CPI(M) with Mr. P.C. Sen. But the fact is, it is not we that have bracketted them. On the contrary, it is they who have bracketted themselves by sitting together in a convention. It is difficult for us to make them separate.

Again after the convention both Mr. P.C Sen and the CPI(M) have observed that they will not initiate any joint programme in future.

Comrade Ghosh has raised the question, if this is the position then what compelling situation pushed the CPI(M) to hold one joint convention with P.C Sen and that too only for a day even at the cost of the unity of the nine party combination? Now when we raise all these pertinent questions, they allege us to be slandering them.

Comrade Ghosh has emphatically remarked that let our CPI(M) friends speak what they like. Let them convince the people if they can. They possess propaganda

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**Com. Shibdas Ghosh  
Addressing the open  
Session of KKM  
Conference  
at Subodhnagar**





# Stagflation has Become a Recurring Feature in Indian Economy

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import bill rose, far outstripping it, by 54% to Rs 2,452 crores. The gap of Rs 425 crores can not be kept confined there despite heavy drawings from IMF, World Bank and foreign aid and assistance particularly when US assistance has become uncertain for the year. But the main source of foreign exchange earnings has been the export of food and consumption articles like sugar (Government earned a profit of Rs. 125 crores), Basmati rice, tobaccos, garments, cement and other engineering goods etc. So, the first intention of the Government may be to reduce the food import bill. But the other intentions are to earn more on export account by shipment of more tonnage of food and consumption articles while people in the country will starve. The third motive is to reduce the cost of agricultural raw materials to give a still better margin of profits to the industrialists.

So, the common people, whether a poor peasant in the field or a worker in factory or both, as consumers do not get any benefit in this capitalist economy although the money spent comes by robbing them.

## Concession—Pre-election stunt—who gets what

With the election approaching and sensing the mood of the oppressed people against the party in power, the Finance Minister has resorted to some pre-election stunts in the form of giving some minor concessions to the middle class people although the concessions given to the capitalists are numerous and heavy. Besides, the concessions given to the middle class people can hardly compensate for the further erosion of real earning that they would be facing due to high dose of commodity taxation, this year. Again, even in the matter of these concessions, the Government makes discrimination between the middle class

salary earners and the measures are half-hearted.

Middle class families giving their children higher education have been allowed deduction in respect of expenses incurred in the matter of computation of income tax. But the benefit is confined to earning of gross monthly income of Rs. 1,000 and less and that too for two children and for college education expenses. Concession has been given as regards income tax exemption limit to the salaried assesees up to the ceiling of yearly earnings of Rs 12,000 by including house rent allowance and leave travel concession, also suffers from discrimination. The Government wants to promote savings through provident fund and, as such, announced bonus to those employees who do not take loan from it to meet the gap in their family budget. This is a cruel joke in as much as a recent survey conducted by RBI of indebtedness in non-working class urban households reveals that loan from provident fund constitutes 12 p.c. of the total debts of those households. As against these so called concessions to the fixed salary earners, the fiscal incentives that the Finance Minister has proposed for the industrialists include extension of tax holiday, exemption of inter corporate dividends derived from new companies engaged in high priority industries and exemption from wealth tax of equity shares in new companies engaged in certain priority industries.

In order to revive the sagging capital market, the Minister announced the Government's decision to amend the restriction of Dividends Act to allow companies to declare dividends higher than the ceiling but to defer their payment in two instalment till the Act expires. As part of the package of incentives, tax holiday has been extended, five year exemption from wealth tax has been granted to equity shares held in new companies which are engaged

in selected priority industries. Inter corporate dividends from new companies producing cement, paper, fertiliser or pesticides have been exempted from income tax. Initial depreciation allowance has been extended to pesticide industry. Bounties of concessions have been showered on the industrialists who evade excise and customs duties by shifting the burden on to the poor consumers but for the consumer, a basketful of commodity taxes, this is the fiscal policy that the ruling bourgeois party has been persistently following to serve the aggregate interest of the ruling capitalist class. Nobody can beat the ruling party in its shameless hypocrisy!

## State of Economy—Stagflation is visible

The country witnesses a painful repetition of the records of the fourth plan period in the economy with poor overall growth, industry and agriculture in doldrums, sharp cut in plan outlay, sagging capital market, unemployment and under-employment soaring while non-developmental expenditure mounts and there is galloping inflation with no sign of abatement.

The Government in its bid to contain inflation took some measures like credit curbs, pegging down of wages and salaries of the fixed-income groups and drastic cut in plan outlay by Rs 200 crores, last year, which, instead of easing, have further exacerbated the situation.

But in order to cure the illness, a correct diagnosis is essential. It is not a fact that the stagflationary situation in the country's economy is just transient, just a passing phase. Facts do not corroborate it. Rather, they prove that for years stagnation in our economy has been a recurring feature and it comes to surface more vividly whenever there is no war-like situation which calls for massive, public spending on military hardware or

what we call 'artificial stimulation' to the market. The basic cause of this chronic stagnation lies in the very capitalist system which as a world-wide system is now at its third stage of crisis which is overall crisis. India's capitalist economy has for it some added peculiar complexities where thorough bourgeois land reforms have not been undertaken by the ruling capitalist class for fear of mass exodus of unemployed to the city, cutting their roots in the rural economy due to modernisation and mechanisation in the mode of cultivation. So, the backwardness of agriculture, continually sagging internal market which make the problem of industry more and more acute which can not be compensated for, in existing condition by expansion of foreign market by the Indian capitalists. As a result, whatever capital is being formed, becomes bureaucratic or idle in absence of sufficient urge for investment.

The ratio of investment to national income, according to the Annual Report on currency and Finance of RBI has been showing a declining trend. It has come down from 12.9 p.c. in 1971-72 to 10.8 p.c. in 1973-74. This year, the capital market shows further depression and in the last nine months the quantum of capital issues (Rs. 20 crores) was far less than in the same period last year (Rs. 37 crores). According to official estimate, the national income increased only by 3.1 p.c. in 1973-74. Consequently the per capita income showed a meagre rise of only 0.9% and the Government survey, issued by the Ministry of Finance before the budget does not hope that it would be more than 1 p.c. this year.

Production rates both in agriculture and industry show declining trends. Total food production rose only by 3 million tonnes to approximately 107 million tonnes as against the target of 118

million tonnes, thus necessitating import of food grains to the tune of about 7 million tonnes if the present rationing system even, is to be maintained.

Industrial growth rate has, for long fifteen years, acquired a trend rate of only 3 p.c. against target rate of 8 to 9%. In the first half of 1974, it even came down to 2.4%.

The wholesale price index although has shown some decline due to seasonal factor and depressed consumption, demand will in all probability, be not less than 20%. Consumer Index number hardened at 20.8% over 19.8% of last year.

In the context of this dismal picture in the economy the percentage of capacity utilisation of industries particularly consumer durables has sharply declined giving rise to the danger of stagflation.

## People Must Rise to uphold the Anti-capitalist Base Political Line to give defeat to the exploiters

In the background of these facts what the people will do? Will they make the ignoble end of their life at the altar of capitalist exploitation in utter helplessness? No! History has charted for them, the path of glory, the glory of emancipation of the society and mankind from exploitation of man by man by overthrow of this rotten capitalist exploitative system. This can only be achieved by successful completion of tasks of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country. In order to advance toward the goal, all the struggles and movements that working people in our country will have to organise and develop must have the clear direction,—the direction of anti-capitalist revolution. By raising the standard of class-consciousness, inculcating in

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## FOOD POLICY—AN ELECTION STUNT

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*benamdar retailers* appointed by them for the purpose. The shameful failure of the taking over by the state of the whole sale trade in wheat is a glaring proof of it.

So, those who approve all out state trading in the name of safeguarding the interest of poor retailers on this or that plea in the prevailing situation, in reality stand in defence of the interests of the rich peasants, the rural capitalists and the unscrupulous traders who operate blackmarketing in food grains and reveal truly their class characters.

But whatever may be the so called pleas of hardships for the retailers or impracticability against introduction of all out state trading embracing the retail stage, they do not stand the test of logic. Because, the present retailers can very well be absorbed in the setup of vast state machinery to be required, either as permanent government employees or as appointed agents on commission basis which is now in vogue for the ration shop dealers in the statutory rationing area. Then again, the poor and middle farmers can be protected from the cheating of the big farmers because in absence of any private trade in grains, they would sell this products direct to the government and get a remunerative price which they do not get now from the rich peasants and traders. The distress sale of poor farmers, share croppers can also be stopped.

What there is wanted is not plea, this or that but a political will to protect the ordinary citizen from the rapacity of the big farmers and unscrupulous traders. This, the ruling party has avoided with impunity for long twenty seven years, taking advantage of the political tie with and dependence even of the so called Marxist parties like CPI(M) and

CPI on the rich peasants and traders. As a result poor and middle class people have suffered because of continual fall in nutritional standard due to declining rate of intake of food. The per-capita availability of food grains, even according to Governments own statistics is that in 1971-73, it sharply dropped to 422.7 grams per day as compared with 465.6 grams in 1971-72 and 459 grams in 1970-71. It is obvious that this is far from the correct picture. So, the present food policy, which is nothing but a balancing by the ruling party between the exigency of election where the famished millions will have to be faced and the vested interest of the rural capitalists and trading community which is vote and money banks for it. But even this balancing is precarious for the ruling party because opposition parties like B.L.D., Jan Sangh, Akalis, the Socialist and even CPI and CPI(M) vie with each other to win the support of all sorts, from the same rich peasants and non monopoly bourgeoisie. So even this food policy will, in due course, be amended but not in the interest of the common people but in the interest of the rich peasants and the traders. So no wonder if the price of wheat and other cereals get a further jacking up, if procurement of grains fails because the 'tooth' of police force will be lacking which is even engaged in biting the poor peoples struggle. No wonder if to balance the foreign trade deficit the Government ships more and more tonnes of food grains in foreign market, and it is no wonder if from the hard earned money of the poor millions, the Government goes on importing food grains. This is the real state of affairs in the country groaning under the burden of worst sort of exploitation.

## Meeting at Jharsuguda

On 3rd March 1975 a public meeting in front of M/s Orissa Ceramic Industries Jharsuguda was held under the joint auspices of Orissa Ceramic workers union and Sambalpur District Committee, SUCI. Comrade Digambar Pattanaik presided and Comrade Sk. Qasim spoke as the main speaker. Comrade Qasim criticised the Labour Department of the Government of Orissa which is indirectly helping the management of the Orissa Ceramic Industries to exploit the workers more ruthlessly. He urged upon the workers to launch a mighty movement in order to force the management to concede to the following demands: (1) Minimum wage of Rs. 6—per day; (2) Proper Grade (3) Weekly paid holiday (4) Proper Designation etc.

Comrade Qasim also criticised the management's heinous policy of retrenching old workers and absorbing new in their place. He urged upon the Labour Department of the Government of Orissa to take steps to stop the anti-labour activities the of management of Orissa Ceramic Industries.

Comrade Qasim expressing solidarity and support to the just struggle of the workers of the Bhaskar Textile Mills said that workers should realise that so long the workers do not establish a true revolutionary leadership over their struggle—their causes will be time and again betrayed.

## Central Budget

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themselves the revolutionary ethics and morality, isolating the pseudo-revolutionary social democracy, they will develop their political power and march forward in victory under the leadership of our great leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the beloved General Secretary of the party of the Indian working class, the SUCI.

## 6th March Protest Rally Biggest ever in Delhi

6th March Delhi: A massive rally—biggest ever in the capital, was held today to protest against corruption, malpractices in the administration and to voice the people's demands. People of all walks of life joined in lakhs and thousands of SUC workers from Delhi, Haryana and Western UP also joined the rally. Along with Jayaprakash Narayan, Com. Sankar Singh, Com. Pritish Chanda, members of the Central Committee of SUCI, among others, led the March to the Parliament. Com. Chhaya Mukherjee, the General Secretary AIDS, was also in front of the rally.

From the Boat club ground Jayaprakash Narayan, accompanied by Com. Pritish Chanda, a member of the National Co-ordination Committee for 6th March Rally among others went to the Parliament to hand over the charter of demands.

## Meeting at Guranchuha

Under the auspices of Sambalpur District Committee of SUCI, a public meeting was held at Guranchuha village on 2.3.75. The meeting was presided over by Comrade B. K Sharma.

Comrade Sk. Qasim, Secretary Orissa Cement Worker's Union, in his speech as the main speaker of the meeting criticised the Orissa Government's forcible levy collection policy from the poor cultivators and condemned severely the police firing and atrocities on the poor peasants at Kokhinda village. Comrade Qasim also criticised the chairman of the Jharsuguda Municipality for his whimsical activities and utter negligence of Municipality work. Comrade Qasim demanded of the Government to immediately take necessary steps to repair the U.P. school of Guran-

## Com. Nihar Mukherjee's Statement

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"In point of fact the CPI(M) wants to take away SUCI's right of conducting ideological struggle and making political criticism even in unity, which no political party having an independent line and approach can concede to.

"Not only that, under the plea that 'it is not a united front based on programme but an issue-based combination'—the CPI(M) very often shows scant regard to left unity if it suits its own political exigency as it did when it broke left unity and joined hands with P.C. Sen and others simply for holding a convention for a day. This act of theirs has not jeopardised left unity at all! But when we could not remain united on this issue, and for that matter when the CPI(M) broke left unity, we made some political criticism and raised certain points with regard to the question of civil liberty etc. On the plea that these criticisms were unfriendly the CPI(M) wanted to take away our right of conducting political criticism and attempted to impose a condition that we will have to withdraw whatever we have said or remarked—which we could ill-afford to agree.

"We are still of considered opinion that ideological struggle centring round political differences never weakens unity. Rather it helps the people to find out the correct politics and give defeat to the wrong one during the course of united struggle. So this being a fundamental point no accord could be reached at—it is unfortunate indeed."

chuha village damaged and left without repair for more than a year, for which the students are suffering much; to immediately repair the dried up wells of the village; to supply wheat and rice to the suffering villagers through Government retail shops etc.

## Conduct relentless ideological struggle while in unity and maintain this unity in the midst of struggle

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machinery more powerful than we possess. Let them try to wipe us off from the soil, of course if they can. But what they should not attempt to, for they will fail in their bid, is that they must not try to take away one's right to politically criticise others. It is not only a question of right. For, we think it is bounden duty to conduct ideological struggle while conducting united struggle for leading the people and their movement in the correct track in the background of a correct theory of revolution.

In regard to the question of developing people's movement in the correct perspective for ameliorating their lot, Com. Ghosh has observed that the country is confronted with three basic problems, (1) problem of modernisation of agriculture. (2) uninterrupted, industrialisation and (3) unemployment. Those who like the Bhudanists proclaim that the problem of rural economy, the fundamental problem of peasants' life can be basically resolved by distributing lands to the landless peasants, agricultural labourers and poor peasants and their cherished 'agrarian revolution' can thus be realised, in reality commit mistake. While recognising the necessity of distribution of lands to the peasants, we firmly hold that this alone can never resolve our rural problem. Firstly it should have to be realised that the total land that is available in India is not adequate enough for providing each family with at least that holding of land which we may call economic. It is therefore obvious that if we acquire the total available land and distribute it among the peasants in appropriate quantum so that the holding may be economic then a huge number of rural population will not get any land. Secondly, it is a fact that population increases but the land does not. So the land distri-

buted to any peasant in course of time, will be distributed among his children and the quota of per capita land will fall far below the appropriate quantum of land that may be considered to be economic holding. Moreover, in the face of economic crises and increased pauperisation, the peasants will be forced to sell the land distributed to them for the maintenance of their family and the land will again become concentrated in the hands of a few. This is inevitable, if not then how is it that the middle peasants and poor peasants are gradually becoming converted into landless peasants and the lands are becoming more and more concentrated in the hands of a few people? So the fundamental problem of rural economy is to provide employment not only for those who will not receive any land during distribution but also for the ever increasing multitude of population in the rural areas. But how can we open up employment opportunities unless we are able to open the flood gate of industrial revolution—a thing which so long the capitalist economy based on the private appropriation of maximum profit continues, can never be realised?

Therefore, we should realise that all these problems are basically linked up with the existing system of capitalism in the country. Those who desire to fight against feudalism in land—a thing which only exists in their dreamland, should take note of Lenin's well known formulation that the fulfilment of three conditions determines if capitalism has penetrated in land. These three necessary and sufficient conditions are whether (1) the produce of land instead of remaining as the commodity of the self sufficient localised agricultural market, has become the commodity of

the national capitalist market, governed by the laws of capitalist trade and commerce,

(2) the number of landless agricultural labourers are on increase and

(3) there is increased concentration of large holdings, legal and illegal, in the hands of a very few.

Judged on this background, it is self-evident that however backward it may appear in regard to the existence of some old feudal remnants as hang-over and that too only in form in manners, customs, habits and mentality in the rural relationship, the capitalist relationship has already been firmly established on land. And in the present era of third phase of the period of general crisis of world capitalism, no reform or patch-work, however silvery it may appear will be able to free Indian state which is a modern capitalist state with a capitalist economy from the crises it is facing with. It is only through the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of socialism through revolution that these basic problems confronting the lives of our people can be resolved.

For the fulfilment of this long cherished objective, Com. Ghosh has urged upon the people to fulfil the following tasks.

(1) Establish the leadership of the real working class revolutionary party with the correct base political line of the working class over the people.

(2) Under the leadership of the revolutionary party, launch united struggle and following the exhaustion of the democratic phase lift the struggle to higher level and develop the proletarian united front. Direct your blow to the main danger i.e the social democratic forces of all shades and colour, isolate them from the main current of the struggle and free the people from their influence.

(3) Develop political power of the people. Slowly develop and organise people's militia.

Inspire ideological struggle within the united struggle with the object of developing and leading the struggle in the correct revolutionary perspective.

The open session came to an end following the conveying of revolutionary greetings by Com. Protiva Mukherjee, the President of the session to all who heartily responded to the call of KKMF and attended the conference in huge numbers to make it a grand success.

### Delegate Session

The delegate session was held at Bhairabtol Ghat, Berampore on 16th and 17th March. The delegate camp was beautifully decorated with red flags by the side of which stood a very big portrait of the departed leader, Com. Subodh Banerjee and Martyr's tomb and the portrait was garlanded by Com. Protiva Mukherjee at the beginning of the conference, along with hoisting of red flag. 3,148 delegates from 14 districts attended the conference.

The first session of the conference was graced by the presence of the Guest in Chief, the veteran mass leader Sri NabaKrishna Chowdhury and the eminent Marxist philosopher Com. Shibdas Ghosh—both of whom addressed the delegate session as well. For want of space we are unable to touch upon their valuable speeches.

Besides Secretary's report, main political resolution and charter of demands a number of other resolution on food, high price, irrigation and fertiliser, enhancement of land revenue and cess, civil liberty, withdrawal of false cases against political prisoner, Bangladesh were adopted. A strong executive committee comprising 25 members with Com. Protiva Mukherjee as President and Com. Yakub Pailan as General Secretary and a General council of 85 members were elected from the conference.

There is no doubt, that all the delegates being highly inspired have firmly resolved to build up rock-like and massive organisations of the landless labourers, poor and middle peasants in respective localities through which alone this conference will attain its desired success.

## DELHI SCHOOL OF POLITICS

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the annals of the communist movement of this soil that it is the only party that has shouldered the burn and burden of building up the revolutionary battles in this soil, abandoned by so-called parties having revolutionary nomenclature. He fervently appealed to all to shake off everything that hinders the path of revolutionary movement and take all-out initiative to build up the SUCI

Observe anti-Emergency

and Black Act

**PROTEST DAY**

on 6th April 75